

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, SW

SUBJECT:MEETING OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, HELSINGOR,
DENMARK, JANUARY 18-19, 1976

FROM THE SECRETARY

1. REQUEST YOU SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH PALME ASAP TO RELAY
USG CONCERNS OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND ITALY,
AS WELL AS THE GENERAL QUESTION OF COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION
IN WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT
THAT PALME RECEIVE AND APPRECIATE OUR VIEWS ON THESE SITUATIONS
PRIOR TO HIS PARTICIPATION IN HELSINGOR MEETING.
DRAWING UPON BACKGROUND CONTAINED SEPTEL, YOU SHOULD PRESENT
THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS IN YOUR MEETING WITH
PALME:

2. UNION OF THE LEFT:

-- THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE HAVE NOTHING TO GAIN AND MUCH
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TO LOSE IN ANY INCREASE IN THE POWER OR INFLUENCE OF WESTERN

EUROPEAN COMMUNISM, DESPITE THE LATTER'S PROPAGATION OF A

NEW BRAND OF "COMMUNISM FOR CAPITALISTIC SOCIALIST SOCIETIES". OVER TIME THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF SUCH GAINS WOULD BE A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE WITH EUROPE THE PRINCIPAL LOSER.

-- STABILITY, SECURITY AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE WILL NOT BE SERVED BY COMMUNISTS IN WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. OUR CONCERN HERE, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRUED BY ANY MEANS TO MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF WESTERN EUROPE IS INEVITABLE. WE CONTINUE TO HAVE UTMOST CONFIDENCE IN THE STRENGTH OF WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERS.

-- EVENTS IN EUROPE'S VOLATILE SOUTHERN FLANK HAVE GIVEN TO SOME AN IMPRESSION OF AN INEXORABLE AND IRREVERSIBLE ADVANCE OF A NEW, SOFT COMMUNISM IN EUROPE. TO ENDORSE SUCH AN IMPRESSION, WHICH NO DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY SHOULD ACCEPT, COULD ONLY CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER INSTABILITY IN THAT AREA WITH BROADER IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

-- WHILE THE US HAS A FULL APPRECIATION OF THE DIFFERING SITUATIONS IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES, IT SEEMS TO US THAT WE IN THE WEST HAVE A COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE RULE OF LAW AND PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY -- NEITHER OF WHICH WOULD BE FURTHERED BY CLOSER COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

3. ITALY:

-- LARGE PCI GAINS IN THE JUNE 15 ITALIAN REGIONAL ELECTIONS RAISE SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF ITALY AND THE FUTURE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN THAT COUNTRY.

-- THE CURRENT ITALIAN SITUATION REFLECTS DC WEAKNESS AND VULNERABILITY AFTER THIRTY UNINTERRUPTED YEARS IN POWER
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AS MUCH AS THEY DO COMMUNIST STRENGTH AND PURPOSE.

-- THE ITALIAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ARE NOW FACED WITH THE TASK OF RENEWING AND REFORMING THEIR PARTY TO MAKE IT ATTRACTIVE TO THE OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN ITALY -- A TASK IMMENSELY COMPLICATED BY SOCIALIST WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT FROM MORO'S GOVERNMENT AND ITS SUBSEQUENT RESIGNATION.

-- THE DC LEADERSHIP HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO RENEWAL AND REFORM, BUT SUCH AN UNDERTAKING REQUIRES TIME, AND FOR

THAT REASON THE DC IS CONVINCED THAT THE 1977 ELECTIONS MUST TAKE PLACE ON TIME AND NO SOONER. IT LOOKS TO THE SOCIALISTS FOR THEIR SUPPORT IN THIS REGARD.

-- WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS WILL PLAY A KEY ROLE IN DETERMINING THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN ITALY. THEIR SUPPORT WILL BE CRITICAL NOT ONLY IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE CRUCIAL 1977 NATIONAL ELECTIONS BUT IN THE LONGER TERM AS WELL IF ITALY IS TO RETAIN ITS DEMOCRATIC AND EUROPEAN ORIENTATION.

-- IN THE INTERESTS OF SECURITY AND STABILITY IN EUROPE, WE HOPE THAT THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WILL ENCOURAGE THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS TO MAINTAIN THEIR SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN ITALY.

4. SPAIN:

-- THE NEW SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO PROGRESS TOWARD MORE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES.

-- OPPOSITION TO THAT GOVERNMENT IS STRONGEST AMONG THE EXTREMISTS ON BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT.

-- THE WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD ACT NOW TO HELP STRENGTHEN THE KING AND HIS MODERATE, PRO-EUROPEAN CABINET IN THEIR EFFORTS TO STEER A REALISTIC COURSE.

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5. PORTUGAL:

-- THE TREND OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN PORTUGAL IS MORE FAVORABLE NOW THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE APRIL 1974 REVOLUTION. THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF THE LATE NOVEMBER CRISIS HAS GIVEN THE COUNTRY A NEW SENSE OF CONFIDENCE AND DIRECTION. COMMUNIST INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES, HAS BEEN REDUCED SHARPLY.

-- WHILE WE UNDERSTAND SOARES' TACTICAL REASONS FOR CALLING FOR A MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE, THE LONG-TERM EFFECT OF THIS WOULD BE THE LEGITIMIZATION OF HIS GREATEST POTENTIAL ENEMY. THUS, WE HOPE HE CAN BE DISSUADED FROM THIS COURSE.

-- DESPITE THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS, PORTUGAL'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE LIKELY TO DEEPEN IN 1976. WITHOUT STRONG WESTERN SUPPORT (INCLUDING EXPANDED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE), POLITICAL STABILITY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS THIS SPRING MAY BE CHAOTIC.

-- THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE WESTERN EUROPEANS WHO HAVE PROVIDED PORTUGAL WITH VALUABLE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. WE ARE MOVING AHEAD WITH OUR OWN ASSISTANCE EFFORT (WHICH MAKES AVAILABLE MORE THAN \$100 MILLION TO THE PINHEIRO AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT FROM FY 75 AND FY 76 FUNDS) AND ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL PORTUGUESE AID REQUESTS.

-- POLITICALLY, THE STRONG SUPPORT GIVEN TO MARIO SOARES' SOCIALIST PARTY BY THE EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS HAS BEEN A CRITICAL FACTOR IN STRENGTHENING AND ENCOURAGING THE PORTUGUESE MODERATES. WE HOPE THIS SUPPORT WILL BE EXPANDED, PARTICULARLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH LOOMS LARGE ON PORTUGAL'S HORIZON.

6. REQUEST THAT YOU REPORT PROMPTLY PALME'S REACTION TO THIS APPROACH AND FOLLOW UP WITH HIM AND OTHER SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AFTER THEIR RETURN FROM HELSINGOR MEETING. KISSINGER

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